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Executive Secretary

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Declassified in Part - Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2012/07/09 : CIA-RDP90G01353R000500600002-3
The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

July 19, 1988

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Mr.	Robert	Timberg	

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter of July 10th. You take an awful risk in asking to receive copies of any public official's The risk is two-fold: inundation and terminal With the consumer thus duly warned, I enclose two boredom. speeches and an article. The first speech, "What is Going on in the Soviet Union," I gave at the Naval War College in Newport last month. In all respects but one it is identical to a speech I gave in May at the LBJ Library to the Austin World Affairs Council. (The one difference is that the Newport version has several more pages on arms control and what's in it for Gorbachev.) The speech has been well received and given a lot of private circulation. Reference has been made to some of the points in it by several of your colleagues, including Meg I hope you find it of interest. The other speech Greenfield. was a commencement address to the Defense Intelligence Finally, the article appeared in the winter issue of Foreign Affairs -- you may already have seen it.

I look forward to lunch soon. I'm off to the cool Pacific Northwest for some backpacking and serious eating but will be back in town on August 13th.

By the by, in our dialogue on broad scale citizen participation in war, I think you are right that in this modern age of mass communications selective participation does set in motion a dynamic with tremendous political consequences. This is an issue best discussed over dinner and a brandy but I guess we'll have to make do with a sandwich and a beer.

STAT

Warm reqards,
Robert M. Gates

B-802-12

STAT

Enclosures: As Stated



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# FOREIGN AFFAIRS



## THE CIA AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Robert M. Gates

WINTER 1987/88

No. 66201

#### CURRENT STRATEGY FORUM NAVAL WAR COLLEGE 16 JUNE 1988

THE GORBACHEV ERA: IMPLICATIONS FOR US STRATEGY
BY ROBERT M. GATES
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

#### INTRODUCTION

THE SELECTION OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AS GENERAL SECRETARY IN THE SPRING OF 1985 SIGNALED THE POLITBURO'S RECOGNITION THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS IN DEEP TROUBLE — ESPECIALLY ECONOMICALLY AND SPIRITUALLY — TROUBLE THAT THEY RECOGNIZED WOULD SOON BEGIN TO HAVE REAL EFFECT ON MILITARY POWER AND THEIR POSITION IN THE WORLD. DESPITE ENORMOUS RAW ECONOMIC POWER AND RESOURCES, INCLUDING A \$2 TRILLION A YEAR GNP, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP BY THE MID—1980S CONFRONTED A STEADILY WIDENING GAP WITH THE WEST AND JAPAN — ECONOMICALLY, TECHNOLOGICALLY AND IN VIRTUALLY ALL AREAS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE.

AS A RESULT OF THESE TRENDS, THE POLITBURO RECOGNIZED THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD NO LONGER RISK THE SUSPENDED ANIMATION OF THE BREZHNEV YEARS, AND COALESCED AROUND AN IMAGINATIVE AND VIGOROUS LEADER WHOM THEY HOPED COULD REVITALIZE THE COUNTRY WITHOUT ALTERING THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET STATE OR COMMUNITY PARTY.

### COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE COLLEGE 17 JUNE 1988

BY ROBERT M. GATES
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

GENERAL PERROOTS, ADMIRAL ROOP, DOCTOR SCOTT, COLLEAGUES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM HONORED TO HAVE BEEN CHOSEN AS YOUR COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER. GIVEN SOME OF YOUR PREVIOUS DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS, INCLUDING GENERAL HERRES LAST YEAR, THIS IS A SINGULAR HONOR AND A DAUNTING CHALLENGE. I THOUGHT A GOOD DEAL ABOUT WHAT I SHOULD SAY TODAY SINCE THIS IS NOT THE USUAL COMMENCEMENT AUDIENCE. UNLIKE OTHER COMMENCEMENT SPEAKERS, IT WOULD HARDLY BE APPROPRIATE FOR ME, NOW THAT YOU ARE GRADUATING, TO ENCOURAGE YOU TO LEAVE THE INSTITUTION AND GO MAKE MONEY. NOR IS IT PARTICULARLY INSPIRING TO ASK YOU TO STAY HERE AND FOREGO THE TEMPTATIONS OF LIFE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

AS THIS IS A COMMENCEMENT AND AS WE ALSO CONTEMPLATE THE CLOSE OF ONE ADMINISTRATION AND ADVENT OF ANOTHER, I THINK THE MOST APPROPRIATE TOPIC TO ADDRESS IN THESE FEW MINUTES IS THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. NOW, SOARING FLIGHTS OF

STAT

July 10, 1988

Mr. Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
The Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Bob:

I've been on my leave of absence for nearly two months now and seem finally to be picking up the vastly different rhythm of a book writer rather than a daily newspaper reporter. But it remains a struggle, if only because there are few concrete indicators of accomplishment, even such illusory ones as daily by-lines.

Your April 28 letter raised interesting questions. Troubling, too. I think your suggestion that World War II was an anomaly in terms of broad-scale citizen participation is probably correct (though where does Korea fit in?), but once that standard was established, it seems to me you cannot go back to more selective participation without paying a price. In particular, with mass communications on the current scale, when one member of society, the better educated and politically savvy one, analyzes the situation and decides that someone else will do the dying for him, I believe a dynamic is set in motion that may ultimately mean there is hell to pay. But who knows? Hopefully I'll have part of the answer when I finish this project. For the moment, it seems to me that I may be looking at this a little too emotionally, something I'll have to guard against, while you may be viewing it a bit too intellectually.

I enjoyed reading your Jackson, Miss., speech on the traditional functions of national intelligence. You took what could have been a predictable, prosaic topic and pointed out a variety of pitfalls and impediments that stand to corrupt the process and quite cogently explained why the agency often finds itself serving as the whipping boy for the mistakes of policy-makers. I would love to see any other speeches you care to send along.

I had an interesting experience last Wednesday. I went back to Annapolis to watch the induction rites of the new plebe class. I wasn't looking for anything special, but rather hoping the day would trigger some old memories that might come in handy down the line. All I can remember from my first day is stenciling my name and/or laundry number on a lot of clothes, some homesickness and a vague sense of dread. I got there last week at about 6.30 a.m., when the check-in process started, and stayed till about 7.30 p.m., long after reporters with daily deadlines had left to

file. So far as I can tell, none of the others realized that John Poindexter's son was in the new plebe class, something I had been tipped to earlier in the day. If that wasn't enough, Admiral Poindexter, because he holds flag rank, I guess, was seated with the official party--commandant, superintendant, other senior officers, etc. There he was, in full uniform, no less. Tom, the son who entered the academy that day, becomes the third of his sons to become a naval officer. Another son graduated the academy in 1985 and a second entered the Navy after Georgia Tech. I wondered about both Poindexter and Tom. After all that had happened to him, much of which I guess he brought on himself, he was sitting up there, preparing to see another son into the service of his country. And the kid, his father's manifold problems notwithstanding, ready to follow in his footsteps. not sure what it all means--I'm a notoriously slow study--but somehow I think it fits in with what I'm doing.

You probably think I'm a deadbeat. I promise a luncheon invitation, then fall off the edge of the earth. Actually, I plan to call in the next week or so to try to set something up. I'd prefer some terrific dank spook spot, but I'll let you call it.

Best regards,

Robert Timberg

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